

Budget Committee, leading the Democrats in our efforts to fashion a federal budget which meets our nation's priorities while working to pay down the national debt. In addition, FRANK is a leader on transportation policy, gun safety, and environmental issues among others.

FRANK LAUTENBERG was the author of legislation which banned smoking America's airlines, a wise action which all of us who fly appreciate more and more each year as we learn about the effects of recirculated cigarette smoke. He wrote the bill which established the age of 21 as the national legal drinking age, an action clearly responsible for the saving of many American lives. And, he passed legislation to prohibit anyone convicted of domestic violence from owning a gun.

Senator LAUTENBERG, also led efforts in the Senate culminating in passage of the transportation bill and as the Ranking Member of the Appropriations Committee's Transportation Subcommittee, he has fought many battles for sound investment in the nation's highways and as a particular friend of mass transportation.

As the Ranking Democrat on the Senate's Budget Committee, Senator LAUTENBERG has been a consistent voice in support of a balance budget, paying down the national debt, and investing in America's future. He coauthored the historic Balance Budget Agreement of 1997.

FRANK LAUTENBERG has served in the Senate since 1982. He is a friend and ally in many legislative battles whom I will miss deeply in the years ahead. However, FRANK is a man of tremendous energy and vision. That energy and vision will continue to serve our nation because FRANK LAUTENBERG's love of this nation is so deep and abiding that as long as he has breath he will be advancing its ideals.

THE SUPREME COURT DECISION IN THE CASE OF BUSH VERSUS GORE AND ITS AFTERMATH

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I am heartbroken that the Supreme Court has issued an opinion that, to me, undermines a core democratic principle—that every vote counts and every vote must be counted.

I am also perplexed that the Court sent the case back to the Florida Supreme Court for further proceedings on the recount, since it did so while also suggesting that time had run out for the recount. That suggestion is disingenuous, considering that the U.S. Supreme Court itself helped cause the clock to run out when it voted 5-4 to stop the recount last Saturday by issuing a stay.

I want to compliment the four justices who voted against the stay order—Justices Stevens, Souter, Breyer and Ginsberg—two appointed by Republican Presidents and two by a Democrat. While several of them recognized constitutional problems in the

way the recount was being carried out, they clearly understood the overriding importance of counting every legal vote.

In his dissenting opinion, Justice John Paul Stevens pointed out that the Florida Supreme Court, in ordering the recount, merely "... did what courts do—it decided the case before it in light of the legislature's intent to leave no legally cast vote uncounted."

He stated that in its action "the majority effectively orders the disenfranchisement of an unknown number of voters whose ballots reveal their intent—and are therefore legal votes under state law—but were for some reason rejected by ballot-counting machines."

The closing words of Justice Stevens, I believe, will go down in history as the thoughts of a great Supreme Court justice:

Although we may never know with complete certainty the identity of the winner of this presidential election, the identity of the loser is perfectly clear. It is the Nation's confidence in the judge as an impartial guardian of the rule of law.

When the next President is sworn into office in January, I pledge to do all that I can to help the country put this extraordinary and unsettling election behind us. I will do my best in the United States Senate to advance the interests of the people of California, who have so many needs and rights that remain to be addressed.

There are many lessons to be learned from these events. We need to change our election procedures to make them uniformly as reliable and accurate as possible, so that we will never again be in this situation. And more Americans must now realize that their participation in the political process is vitally important. I will work on these challenges in the coming months, for the sake of Californians and for all Americans.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR CHUCK ROBB

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to my colleague on the Armed Services and Intelligence Committees, Senator CHUCK ROBB. As his career in the Senate comes to a close, Senator ROBB leaves behind a career in public service that he and the Virginians he served so well should be proud of.

CHUCK ROBB has served his nation as a United States Marine, as Lieutenant Governor and Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, and for the last twelve years as a member of the United States Senate. CHUCK ROBB has been a public servant in the truest sense. He has always put the nation's interest first, and self-interest last.

During the twelve years I have served with Senator ROBB on the Armed Services Committee, he has proven himself to be a champion of a strong national defense, of the men and women who wear our nation's uniform, and of his fellow veterans.

On the Armed Services Committee, he has been first and foremost a devoted advocate of a strong Navy-Marine Corps team. While Senator ROBB has never been one to tout his own accomplishments, his pride in and love for the United States Marine Corps is one thing he has never been able to hide.

Senator ROBB has worked hard on military readiness, quality of life, and modernization. He sponsored the targeted recruiting and retention bonuses Congress enacted last year for critical skills where they would have the most payoff for the military. He was a leader in providing promised health care benefits to military retirees. He has worked hard to get the Navy to develop a long term plan to fund enough ships to maintain the Navy we need for the future, and on securing additional funds to keep the ships we have today ready. And he has been a leading proponent of making our defense budget as efficient as possible and has pushed the Defense Department to rigorously examine both their strategy and their organization.

CHUCK ROBB has devoted enormous time and energy to America's national security. He is the only Senator ever to serve on the Armed Services, Intelligence, and Foreign Relations Committees simultaneously. On countless occasions we have benefitted from having his voice of reason and experience at the table.

CHUCK ROBB has never forgotten America's POWs and MIAs and their families. Both as a member of the Armed Services Committee and the Select Committee on POW/MIA affairs, he has devoted himself to a full accounting for our soldiers who are still missing in action.

While Senator ROBB is best known as a champion of a strong national defense, he has been much more than that. During his Senate career he has worked hard to make America stronger in every way. Senator ROBB has devoted himself to making the United States a more productive nation and, more importantly, a more just nation.

Both as Governor and as a Senator, CHUCK ROBB has been a strong voice for protecting the environment, for civil rights, for improving education for both students and teachers, and for putting new technology to work for our students, our military, and our nation.

CHUCK ROBB has been a leader in fighting discrimination against African American farmers, in expanding opportunities for women and minorities at both the federal and state government levels, and in honoring courageous civil rights leaders including Martin Luther King, Jr.

He is also renowned for his steadfast devotion to fiscal discipline. CHUCK ROBB has never been afraid to cast an unpopular vote to restrain spending or reject unwise or unaffordable tax cuts. Senator ROBB was steadfast in his belief that we have an obligation to pay for the programs we enact rather than

passing the costs on to our children. I hope he will take pride in the role he played during his twelve years in the Senate in turning record deficits into a record surplus.

He displayed that same political courage on the Armed Services Committee. Representing a state with numerous military installations, Senator ROBB has nevertheless joined with Senator McCain and me in our efforts to allow the Defense Department to close excess military bases, because he knows it is the sensible thing to do. In his four years as the Ranking Minority Member on the Readiness Subcommittee he has also been a strong advocate of our committee's policy of only funding those military construction projects that have the highest priority in the military's plans, even though that required him sometimes to say "no" to his colleagues.

I shall miss CHUCK ROBB more than these words will be able to express. He has personally inspired and supported me as ranking member on the Senate Armed Services Committee. He's the kind of man you entrust your children to, or in combat would want to be in a fox hole with.

The Senate and the Nation have benefitted from the example of public service he has set. He now has the chance to spend more time with his truly remarkable wife Lynda and their beloved children. We know how much that will mean to him as he takes on the next challenge in his remarkable career of public service.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

MEMORY

● Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, as the Roman statesman, Cicero said "Memory is the treasury and guardian of all things." I believe we as humans often take our ability to remember for granted. Throughout the past century, we have been blessed with many scientific innovations and discoveries. Large strides have been made in the medical area that have helped to improve the quality of life for all the people of the world. Memory is an essential function of our human experience. The loss of memory is certainly a tragedy. Thankfully, there are those who are conducting research who endeavor to understand the memory process and seek to solve memory disorders and loss. For instance, last year Congress appropriated \$17.7 billion to the National Institutes of Health to fund scientific research. A portion of that funding is used for studies working to gain a better understanding of memory.

I have recently read an essay entitled "Musings on Memory" by Dr. Morris Martin and was intrigued by the author's insights on memory. This essay was read before the Literary Club of Tucson, Arizona, on November 20, 2000. Dr. Martin is a professor of history having taught at Princeton University.

He received his degrees from Oxford in England. His essay explores the many aspects of memory and the importance it has played throughout the history of the world. I would like to share his wisdom with my colleagues in the Senate and ask that the article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows.

MUSINGS ON MEMORY

(By Morris Marton)

Elephants, they say, never forget, and maybe amoebas remember in some amoebic fashion. But that, is beyond my scope. Human history, personality, our rich individuality, all derive in some measure from memory. The Greeks, as usual, got it right. Certainly by the time of Hesiod around 700 B.C. with that instinct for clarification that distinguishes them, the Greeks had drawn up the family tree of Memory. Mnemosyne, Memory, was the wife of Zeus and the mother of the Muses—Poetry, Literature, Music, Dance, Tragedy, Comedy etc. all nine of them, which of course, makes Memory the mother of Culture. Being the wife of Zeus also made her respectable, an Olympian goddess. But her origins go further back beyond the Olympians, to her brother Kronos, the chief of the disreputable Titans, whose very shady origins lie somewhere among the very unGreek Hittites of Asia Minor. Her father was Uranos (Heaven) and her mother was Gaia (Earth) and further back than that no one can go. It was the Greek way of saying what today's scientists say that Memory derives from the neural connections that pass from the primitive limbic area to the hippocampus via the amygdala. They use Greek words, but the Greeks said the same thing more simply and much more picturesquely.

Memory for them went back to the Earth Mother and was the womb of Culture. It is the original collector and transmitter of experience. Before writing culture depended on tremendous memories. We know of the Bards who traveled from village to village rewriting those tales of valor or of wondrous events, which became the Iliad and the Odyssey. Milman Parry, the American scholar, threw light on this when in the Thirties he discovered the practice still alive in the Balkans among the Serbian Muslims. Memory is still the backbone of tradition among the Indian Brahmins who memorize tens of thousands of lines of the Bhagavad Gita or the Ramayana, or of rabbis who memorize the Torah.

Memory was Queen until Writing was invented. Again the Greeks with uncanny precision traced writing back to Egypt, though the Chaldeans of Ur anticipated the Egyptians in making scratches on baked tablets. Plato in the person of Socrates tells how Thoth, the Egyptian god who invented writing, was reproached by Thamus, the king of Egypt, "This discovery of yours will create forgetfulness in the learners' souls, because they will not use their memories; they will trust to the external written characters and not remember of themselves. . . . They will be a tiresome company, having the show of wisdom without the reality."

So fast forward to our own day. The written or printed word has taken the place of memory for a majority of our needs. The computer has added a further layer of incompetence to our thinking. "It's on the net, I don't have to remember it." That is the mantra today of too often. It was the written word that started mankind on the downward slope to Lethe or Forgetfulness.

PERSONAL MEMORY; ITS LENGTH AND VALIDITY

In terms of personal historical memory, how far back can we moderns remember? We

all have examples of this on which you might ponder. For instance my father on his 90th birthday in 1962 gathered his four sons and their wives around him in his much-loved garden in Kent and reminisced about his father and grandfather. We were transported back to the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, the funeral of the Duke of Wellington in 1851, tales of London life and family anecdotes which would have perished with him a few years later, but for Cadmus' invention and my wife's shorthand. Those memories are now recorded and can be passed on to future generations. How far back can such memories go? I remember meeting a delightful old lady in the Forties who told me proudly that as a baby she had been held in the arms of President Lincoln. Search your own minds for the earliest event, which you can remember in this way, personally or anecdotally. And remember that Roy Drachman lunched with Wyatt Earp!

However, I think I can cap anything you may come up with. In February of this year 2000 the London Times recorded the following. It described a man now living who as a child made a disparaging remark about Oliver Cromwell. A lady present said firmly, "Never speak ill of that great man. My husband's first wife's first husband knew Oliver Cromwell and liked him well." At the dawn of this new century someone living today can recall a single matrimonial generation linked directly with the mid-17th century. How can that be? The remark was made in 1923 by a lady born in 1832. At the age of 16 (i.e. in 1848) she had married an 80-year old man named Henry. Sixty-four years earlier in 1784 young Henry had married for reasons, which remain obscure, an 82-year old woman. Her first marriage, in 1720 was to an 80-year-old who had served Cromwell before his death in 1658. We have a memory going back 342 years from the present day. It should be a warning to us not to disregard oral traditions, which can stretch over what appear to be impossibly long generations.

GROUP MEMORY

Communal or tribal memories can be even longer. Our common law reflects a time when memory was the official legal linkage of the centuries. Blackstone in his Commentaries dealing with land tenure says that some claims can go post hominum memoriam. Or "Time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Tribal memories run very deep. They became tradition. Then they can illuminate or bedevil the present. They can make Fourth of July picnics or they can raise the Confederate Flag. Irish Protestants refight the Battle of the Boyne of 1690 each marching season to the dismay of those who would build a new future for Ireland. Serbs fight for Kosovo, recalling the battle in 1389 which was actually a defeat but which has been transformed into a victory in national memory. Six hundred years later this memory gave the emotional surge to the Serbian claim to the Province of Kosovo which involved twenty nations in contesting it. Sentiment in the heart often transforms memory in the head. This year the British celebrated the 60th anniversary of the "Miracle of Dunkirk" while the French looked on with a jaundiced eye, as being in their memory the betrayed of France by a retreating ally.

Now let us turn to the relation of Memory to the writing of History.

History and historical writing begin as Memory plus editorial slant. The good historian will do his best to be aware of his bias. Herodotus is known as a father of History since he collected the stories told him by all and sundry, but often added a skeptical comment or two here and there to the effect "I find this hard to believe." Thucydides was